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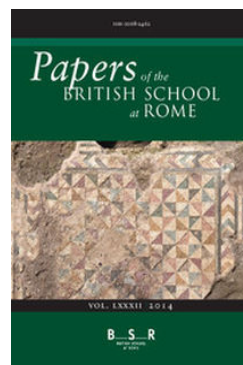
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AUGUSTINE'S CANAANITES¹

by Josephine Crawley Quinn, Neil McLynn, Robert M. Kerr
and Daniel Hadas

There is a widespread idea that the people we call 'Phoenician' called themselves 'Canaanite'. This article argues that the only positive evidence for this hypothesis, a single line in the standard editions of Augustine's unfinished commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans, where he claims that 'if you ask our local peasants what they are, they answer 'Canaanite'', is prima facie highly unreliable as historical evidence, and on closer inspection in fact is almost certainly an editorial error: our examination of all the manuscripts — the first to have been carried out — established that what the peasants were really asked in the archetype was not quid sint — 'what they are' — but quid sit — 'what is it', a phrase that would most obviously refer to their language. While this new reconstruction of the archetype does not necessarily mean that quid sit was what Augustine originally wrote, this passage cannot be used as positive evidence for Canaanite identity in late antique North Africa, or anywhere else.

C'è un'idea diffusa che il popolo che noi chiamiamo 'Fenici' chiamasse se stesso con il nome di 'Canaaniti'. Il presente articolo sostiene che la sola testimonianza che va nella direzione di quest'ipotesi è prima facie estremamente inaffidabile come fonte storica. Si tratta di un'unica riga nell'edizione standard del commentario incompiuto di Agostino alla lettera di Paolo ai Romani, in cui si dice che 'se tu chiedi ai nostri contadini locali che cosa siano, essi rispondono 'Canaaniti'' e che a una verifica più dettagliata corrisponde quasi certamente a un errore redazionale. Il nostro riesame di tutto il manoscritto — il primo a essere stato effettuato — ha stabilito che ciò che nell'archetipo viene chiesto effettivamente ai contadini non è quid sint — oltretutto 'che cosa sono' — ma quid sit — e quindi 'che cos'è', una frase che si riferisce con probabilità al loro linguaggio. Mentre questa nuova ricostruzione dell'archetipo non implica necessariamente che quid sit fosse ciò che Agostino originariamente scrisse, questo passaggio non può essere usato come una prova dell'identità dei Canaaniti nella tarda antichità in Nord Africa o in qualsiasi altra localizzazione.

'OUR RUSTICS'

Only very rarely do we hear ancient peasants speak, and then their voices are usually translated into the language of the political élite. There is therefore every reason to attend to two single-word utterances that Augustine of Hippo

¹ The origins of this paper lie in a series of conversations between Jo Quinn, Stephen Heyworth and Jonathan Prag, and we are extremely thankful to the two latter for their ongoing advice and enthusiasm. We also gratefully acknowledge the help given to us by Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, François Bron, Gillian Clark, Mark Edwards, Peta Fowler, Lionel Galand, Brien Garnand, Bruce Hitchner, Reinhard Lehmann, Paul Mosca, Tobias Reinhardt, Philip Schmitz, John van Seters, José Ángel Zamora López, Maxine Anastasi, and the *Papers of the British School at Rome's* readers, Editor and Publications Manager. A list of abbreviations can be found before the References.

attributes to the ‘rustics’ of his diocese, quoting them in their own language rather than his. Students of Phoenician history have been particularly interested in these two reported words, because they have suggested an enduring and otherwise poorly attested cultural connection, across a thousand miles of the Mediterranean and a thousand years of history, between the rural inhabitants of late Roman North Africa and the ancient Phoenician heartlands of the Levant. The purpose of this paper is to assess the reliability of Augustine’s report as evidence for the self-ascribed identity of his rustic interlocutors, both in its context in our received text and in the manuscript transmission to which we owe this text. Our conclusions will be primarily negative, but we hope that our arguments will be of broad interest to historians within and beyond the rapidly expanding field of Phoenician studies.

In dealing with the relevant passage from Augustine’s unfinished commentary on Paul’s letter to the Romans (c. 394/5), historians have tended to begin at the end, with the second reported sound-bite. In the standard edition, this anecdote runs as follows:

*Unde interrogati rustici nostri, quid sint, Punice respondentes: Chanani, corrupta scilicet, sicut in talibus solet, una littera, quid aliud respondent quam: Chananaei?*²

For which reason our rustics, when asked what they are, [and] replying in Phoenician ‘Chanani’, with one letter corrupted of course, as is usual in such cases, what else are they replying but ‘Chananaei’?

This sentence has been accepted very widely as evidence for the existence of self-identified Canaanites in Africa in late antiquity, and often is provided as supporting evidence for the theory that ‘Canaanite’ was the self-designation of those we call ‘Phoenician’.³ However, given that the only other possible evidence for a self-identified Canaanite in Algeria (or anywhere else⁴) was more

² Augustine, *Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio* 13.5, as printed in Divjak, 1971.

³ See: Vattioni, 1968: 444; Moscati, 1988: 4; Aubet, 2001: 11; Belmonte, 2003: 34; Sommer, 2008: 14; Hoyos, 2010: 220; Campus, 2012: 310–13. The point is sometimes rather skewed: ‘in the third [*sic*] century of the Common (Christian) Era, Augustine of Hippo informs us, an African identified himself as a *Chanani*, Canaanite’ (Krahmalkov, 2001: 1). Jonathan Prag has struck a note of scepticism (2006: 24).

⁴ On the lack of evidence for Canaanite identity in Phoenician language sources, see: Xella, 1995: 247. References to a place called Canaan on second-century BC coinage from Beirut (Houghton, Lorber and Hoover, 2008: I, 81), and (in Greek literature) to Chna being the original name of Phoenicia (Herodian 7.32–8.8 Lentz (perhaps, though not certainly, quoting Hecateus of Miletus)) or to a mythical personage called Chna whose name was changed to Phoinix (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 1.10.39 (quoting Philo of Byblos)) are often cited as supporting evidence for Canaanite personal identity, but it is hard to see them as strictly relevant. In fact, while both Canaan and Canaanite are attested with geographical reference in the second millennium BC, from the early first millennium ‘Canaanite’ is a concept almost exclusive to the Bible, and Niels Peter Lemche (1991) made the case that its usage as an ethnonym is an invention of biblical literature. It is generally thought that attachments to city states were stronger among Phoenician speakers than a broader mutual identity (see, for instance: Niemeyer, 2000: 93); for recent critical

than 500 years old by the time Augustine is writing,⁵ it is surprising how little detailed examination the passage has received, and we shall suggest here that such investigation calls the standard interpretation of this line into serious doubt.⁶ We shall start by trying to make sense of the sentence in its wider textual context, then outline the interpretative problems that raises, and finally propose that a more careful analysis of the manuscripts might suggest a new and rather different reading.

The 'unfinished commentary' could more accurately be described as hardly started, in that it deals only with the first few lines of Paul's letter (Romans 1.1–7): Augustine never gets past Paul's greeting formula. In the build-up to our passage, he argues (chapter 11), that although Paul's salutation 'Grace and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ' (Romans 1.7) does not name the Holy Spirit, it implies it in a way that acknowledges both the Trinity and the divine unity of God 'given that grace and peace are given to men through the Holy Spirit'. In chapter 12 he runs through eight other apostolic letters that, he argues, make the same Trinitarian point in similarly veiled ways, ending with 'James the servant of God and our Lord Jesus Christ to the twelve tribes of the diaspora, greetings (*salus*)' (James 1.1) — the only one of his examples to use this 'most familiar greeting', *salus*. *Salus* can in addition to 'greetings' mean 'health', and 'salvation'; for Augustine, it stands here for the Trinity because 'salvation only exists in the gift of God, like grace and peace' (*Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio* 12.9), and we already know from the previous chapter that the gift of God is the Holy Spirit (11.1). He then gives us, in chapter 13, an example of this connection between salvation (*salus*) and the Trinity; we give here the whole chapter, again as printed in the standard edition:

(1) Quo loco prorsus non arbitror praetereundum, quod pater Valerius animadvertit admirans in quorundam rusticanorum collocutione. Cum alter alteri dixisset: salus, quaesivit ab eo, qui et latine nosset et punice, quid esset salus; responsum est: tria. (2) Tum ille agnoscens cum gaudio salutem nostram esse trinitatem concinentia linguarum

examinations of the concept of Phoenician identity in general, see: Sommer, 2010; van Dongen, 2010.

⁵ A Hellenistic-period dedication in the El Hofra sanctuary near Constantine by 'Abdeshmun the son of M'DR, a man of Canaan from Carmel ('Š KN'N MQRML), citizen of 'YRM' (KAI 116 = EH 102). Assuming that the reading 'Š KN'N is even correct (Roland De Vaux (1968: 23 n. 11) proposed reading instead 'Š KN'L, which on the basis of an examination of the photograph seems very plausible), it is not clear to what it would refer, and it is worth noting that the phrase could also mean 'a merchant': KN'N is used with this meaning several times in the Hebrew Bible: TWAT 4.243, with Isaiah 23.8; Ezekiel 16.29, 17.4; Hosea 12.8; Zephaniah 1.11; Zechariah 14.1; Proverbs 31.24. It is worth noting also that there would be no point in mentioning Canaan at all in the inscription unless it was to draw attention to something unusual — and so apparently in this North African Punic-speaking community it was *not* common to make that connection.

⁶ Sabatino Moscati noted that the context was discussed rarely, despite its relevance, but then failed to do more than discuss the first couple of lines of the chapter, and missed entirely the role of the Canaanite woman in the argument (1984: 529).

non fortuitu sic sonuisse arbitratus est, sed occultissima dispensatione divinae providentiae, ut cum latine nominatur salus a Punicis intelligantur tria, et cum Punici lingua sua tria nominant, latine intelligatur salus. (3) Chananaea enim, hoc est Punica mulier de finibus Tyri et Sidonis egressa, quae in evangelio personam gentium gerit, salutem petebat filiae suae, cui responsum est a domino: *Non est bonum panem filiorum mittere canibus.* (4) Quod crimen obiectum illa non negans tamquam de confessione peccatorum impetratura salutem filiae, hoc est novae vitae suae: *Ita, inquit, domine, nam et canes edunt de micis, quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum.* (5) Tria enim mulieris lingua salus vocantur, erat enim Chananaea. Unde interrogati rustici nostri, quid sint, punice respondentes: Chananaei? (6) Petens itaque salutem trinitatem petebat, quia et Romana lingua, quae in salutis nomine trinitatem Punice sonat, caput gentium inventa est in adventu domini; et diximus Chananaeam mulierem gentium sustinere personam. Panem autem appellans dominus id ipsum quod a muliere petebatur, quid aliud quam trinitati attestatur? (7) Namque alio loco eandem trinitatem in tribus panibus intelligendam esse apertissime docet. Sed haec verborum consonantia sive provenerit sive provisa sit, non pugnaciter agendum est, ut ei quisque consentiat, sed quantum interpretantis elegantiam hilaritas audientis admittit.

The argument is not easy to follow; we shall translate and discuss it step by step.

(1) At this point I should not pass straight over what Father Valerius noticed with astonishment in the conversation of certain rustics. When one said to another *salus*, Valerius asked the one who knew both Latin and Phoenician⁷ what *salus* was; he replied *tria* (three).

Valerius is at this point still the bishop of Hippo; Augustine recently has been ordained his priest. And Valerius's hearing what he thought was the Latin word *salus* in the late western Phoenician or (as modern scholarship calls it) 'Punic' dialect spoken in Augustine's Algeria is understandable: ŠLŠ is the word for 'three' in this group of northwest Semitic languages.⁸ But what is particularly interesting for our argument is Valerius's reaction to this news.

⁷ We translate *punice* here as 'in Phoenician', since while 'Punic' is used in English to distinguish western Phoenician people, culture and language, Augustine's description in this passage of the Canaanite woman from the area of Tyre and Sidon as a *punica mulier* shows that he uses *punicus* to mean 'Phoenician' in a more general sense. Augustine only uses the alternative term *phoenix* once (*De civitate Dei* 4.10). For the Latin usage of *phoenix* and *punicus* more generally, see: Prag, 2006; forthcoming. We shall use 'Punic' in this article to refer to the western dialect of Phoenician spoken in North Africa, in line with standard scholarly practice, but we shall not import this modern distinction into Augustine's own account.

⁸ In Hebrew it is pronounced /šālōš/, but in Punic the /ō:/ had become an /ú:/ (Kerr, 2010: 95). It is suggested often that Punic ŠLŠ and Latin *salus* could have been pronounced identically (for example: Fernández Arnadaz, 1991: 150). While the exact rendition of sibilants in late Punic is hard to establish (Kerr, 2010: 126–37; 2013), the word obviously sounded similar enough to Latin *salus* for the association to work. The rendition of the Punic lexeme as *salus* is an orthographic and not a phonetic problem: the sound /š/ was foreign to Latin, which had no convention for writing it.

(2) Then recognizing with joy that our *salus* [that is, salvation] is the Trinity, he decided that it was not by chance that it sounded that way by the agreement (*concinentia*) of the languages, but a result of the most secret dispensation of divine providence, so that when *salus* is said in Latin, *tria* is understood by Phoenicians (*punici*), and when Phoenicians say *tria* in their own language, in Latin *salus* is understood.

The reason for this excitement, it is then explained, is the parallel immediately recognized with the story in Matthew's gospel of the Canaanite woman who came to ask Jesus to help her daughter, who is being tormented by a demon (Matthew 15.21–8).⁹ This new information helps explain the intended point of the gospel story.

(3) For the *Chananaea*, that is to say the Phoenician woman (*punica mulier*) who came from the area of Tyre and Sidon, [and] who in the gospel plays the role of the gentile, was seeking salvation (*salus*) for her daughter, to which the Lord's response was: 'It is not good to throw the children's bread to dogs'. (4) Not denying the charge laid upon her [of being a dog], as though by the confession of sins she would obtain *salus* for her daughter, that is, for her new life, 'Yes, Lord', she said, 'inasmuch as even dogs eat the crumbs which fall from their lords' table'. (5) For in the woman's language *tria* is said as *salus*, for she was Canaanite (*erat enim chananaea*). For which reason our rustics, when asked what they are, [and] replying in Phoenician 'Chanani', with one letter corrupted of course, as is usual in such cases, what else are they replying but 'Chananaei'? (6) Thus in asking for *salus* she was asking for the Trinity, because the Roman language too, in which the noun *salus* signifies in Phoenician the Trinity, was found to be at the head of the gentiles at the coming of the Lord; and we have said that the Canaanite woman plays the role of the gentiles.

There is much parenthetical comment here, but the main thread of the argument can be extracted as follows. It is not by chance that 'three' in Phoenician sounds like 'salvation' in Latin: when the Canaanite woman asked Jesus for *salus* (13.3–4), since in her language 'three' sounds like *salus* (13.5), 'in asking for *salus* she was asking for the Trinity' (13.6). So a Gospel story that is explicitly about salvation for the gentiles also contains a hidden acknowledgement of the Triune God. The exact interpretation of section 5 is problematic, since the subject of *erat enim chananaea* could in grammatical terms be either the woman or her language, but if the final *chanani* and *chananaei* refer to the collective identity of the peasants — as the verb *sint* would suggest — then the previous clause too should be taken (as in our translation above) as a reference to personal identity. The section would thus make the claim that because the woman and the peasants share a Canaanite identity, they also share a language — and so the linguistic equivalence explained by the peasants will also work for the gospel story. One important thing to note here is that the conversation with the peasants in section 5 is not supposed to be a continuation of the real discussion that Valerius had with rustics at the beginning of the chapter, which was reported in the past tense, but rather a general claim, made in the present tense, that if you ask such people *quid sint*, they reply 'Chanani'.

⁹ Cf. Mark 7.24–30 for another version of the story.

At this point it reasonably might be objected that, quite apart from the fact that the woman does not actually use the term ‘salvation’ in either gospel story,¹⁰ neither Jesus nor the woman are speaking Latin, and so the assonance between Latin *salus* and the word for three in Canaanite languages is irrelevant. The text seems to recognize this difficulty when it makes the point in section 6 that Latin is the primary language of the gentiles, and that the Canaanite woman represents the gentiles, before presenting another reason to see the woman as asking for the Trinity (which also explains why the Bible story had had to be told at such length in sections 3–4):

And moreover, when the Lord called what the woman was asking for ‘bread’, to what was he referring other than the Trinity? (7) For elsewhere he clearly teaches that the same Trinity can be understood as three loaves of bread [Luke 11.5–13].

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Augustine himself is not completely convinced by the argument, and concludes this chapter, and this digression from his commentary on Paul, by commenting:

But whether this consonance of words came about by accident or by providence, the matter should not be pursued aggressively so that everyone agrees, but enough for the enjoyment of the listener to admit the elegance of the expounder.

This perhaps suggests that Augustine is delicately attributing the argument thus far not to himself but to Valerius; it should certainly discourage historians from putting the full authority of Augustine behind the alleged connection.

‘THIS CONSONANCE OF WORDS’

We, too, might do well to hesitate about accepting the details of this story, including the sentence that particularly interests us, and not just on the grounds of Augustine’s own ambivalence about it: there are plenty of other reasons to be wary of the claim that the rustics called themselves Canaanite.

We should first note that this claim is made not as an anthropological observation by Augustine, as it is usually presented, but as a vague generalization, perhaps by Valerius, in support of a theological point. It is a striking fact that, although Augustine is interested in Canaanites throughout his literary career, this is the only passage in any of his texts that locates them in North Africa rather than the Levant.¹¹ It is also rather curious that the claim seems to be supposed to come as a surprise to his listeners — ‘what else could they be saying, but Canaanite?’ — which doesn’t sit easily with the notion of a well-known, long-lasting local identity. Indeed, the formulation suggests that

¹⁰ Cf. *Enarrationes in psalmos* 84.11 for another claim by Augustine that the Canaanite woman was seeking *salus* for her daughter.

¹¹ Cf. for instance *Sermo* 37.21: *Qui sunt Chananaei? Vicinae gentes populo Israel alienigenae.*

the peasants themselves do not make this connection: it is Valerius or Augustine who identifies the word they use as meaning Canaanite, not them.¹² And in the logic of the argument, the sentence seems to repeat a point about shared identity that already has been established by the description of both the peasants (in section 2) and the woman (in section 3) as *punicus* — though it is not, of course, unusual to affirm a point as obviously true and then adduce an argument to prove it.

The connection between ethnicity and language implied by the passage as traditionally understood and translated is also problematic. As noted above, the reference to the woman's identity and the peasants' self-identification as Canaanite appears to constitute a claim that, because they share an ethnic identity, they must also share a language, and so the assonance between the words for 'three' and 'salvation' is at work in the gospel story too. This seems a weak argument in the context of the ancient Mediterranean in general, and in particular in relation to late antique North Africa, where, although Punic was widely spoken (Millar, 1968; Kerr, 2010; Wilson, 2012),¹³ the epigraphic evidence suggests that its use had extended well beyond those who might have had a plausible claim to being Canaanites.¹⁴ The apparent ethnicity claim may, however, be a red herring: all Augustine's attested uses of the adjective *punicus* seem to refer to the language and its speakers, suggesting that he considers *Punici* a linguistic rather than ethnic group, and he could treat *Chanani/Chananaei* here in the same way.¹⁵ Either way, however, *quid sint* is a strange

¹² One might indeed wonder how people in late antique North Africa could have come to the conclusion that they were Canaanite: the term is attested almost exclusively in the Bible and in some later Jewish and Christian sources, and there it is used for the most part in relation to the Levant. Some Jewish sources of the second century BC–first century AD do, however, preserve a tradition in which the inheritance of Canaan has expanded from the small area of the Levant described in Genesis into North Africa (*Book of Jubilees* 9.1–2; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 1.130), and some later sources present Canaanite presence in North Africa as a result of flight from Joshua (Procopius 4.10.22, Suda X 79, with Schmitz, 2007).

¹³ Augustine elsewhere calls it an 'African' language: *In Iohannis epistolam* 2.3.

¹⁴ A comparison of the names found in Phoenician language inscriptions written in Punic script (which was used up to c. 150 BC) and in those written in the later neo-Punic script suggests that in the Roman period Punic was used well outside the Levantine diasporic community: the Punic inscriptions record 1,145 separate Semitic names, 82 Libyco-Berber names, 21 Greek and thirteen Latin (Benz, 1972: 54–186), while the neo-Punic texts give a completely different picture: 143 Semitic names, 264 Libyco-Berber, 167 Latin and six Greek (along with 107 unattributable names, mostly hypocoristic forms) (Jongeling, 2008). While onomastics are no sure guide to ethnicity, these figures are suggestive. We would also note the official use of Punic by the Numidian kings (*KAI* 161 and on the royal coinage) and in inscriptions erected by the élites of African cities such as Volubilis (*IAM* 1, 5–11) and Dougga (*RIL* 1 and 2 (= *KAI* 100 and 101)).

¹⁵ Most examples are either of *punice* used to mean 'in Phoenician' (*De magistro* 13; *ep.* 66.2; *De sermone Domini in monte* 2.47; *In Iohannis evangelium* 14.7; *Enarrationes in psalmos* 118.32.8, 136.18, 167.4, 359A.11; *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* 3.78) or of *punicus* qualifying language, words or texts (*De magistro* 13; *ep.* 17.2, 209.3; *ep.* 20 (Divjak) 3, 21; *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* 1.24; *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 7.16; *De sermone Domini in monte* 2.47; *In Iohannis evangelium* 14.7, 15.27; *In Iohannis epistolam* 2.3; *Sermo* 162A.10, 113.2, 167.4,

way to ask about collective identity of any kind: although ‘what are they?’ in this sense works in English, it is much less obvious that *quid* would be an appropriate word to apply to people in Latin.¹⁶

A further problem is that although the peasants are being asked what they are ‘in Phoenician’ — *punice* — their reply appears in fact to be in Latin, in which *chanani* would be a plural noun or adjective. For the word to be a plural in Phoenician and its sub-dialects, the final –m of the plural form *chananim* (< *KN^hNYM) would have had to disappear in the peasants’ pronunciation, which is unattested; it is much more obvious to read *chanani* as a singular Punic adjective of the nisba type that gives us forms such as Yemeni and Israeli in modern Semitic languages. If the meaning of ‘replying in Phoenician’ is instead (and less obviously) that they said in ‘Phoenician’ what is now being translated into Latin, it is unclear why that translation then has to be further corrected to or explained as ‘Chananaei’.

Furthermore, Augustine says that one letter is ‘corrupted’ in the transition from *Chananaei* to *Chanani*. Even if we treat the diphthong *ae* as one letter rather than two,¹⁷ especially since Augustine seems to be discussing phonemes rather than graphemes in this passage (although it is worth noting that he never elsewhere uses *una littera* to refer to a diphthong¹⁸), the standard text still presents the

288.3, 293(*auctus*).7, 8; *De haeresibus* 87; *Contra litteras Petiliani* 2.239). When *punicus* qualifies a person, the context almost always is linguistic, and the point to identify the person as a Phoenician speaker (*ep.* 108.5; *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 7.16; *In Iohannis evangelium* 14.7; *Enarrationes in psalmos* 123.8; *Sermo* 113.2, 288.3, 293A(*auctus*).7, 360A.2). *De peccatorum meritis* 1.34 is arguably an exception. The only other is the phrase *punicum bellum* in *De civitate Dei* (*passim*), where Augustine is merely using the standard Roman terminology. Note that on one occasion Augustine himself is referred to as a *Punicus* in a letter from Secundus: *quis Punicum salvabit?* (*Contra Secundinum* 3).

¹⁶ Augustine uses *qui sint* for indirect questions asking who people are: for example (among many instances) *Confessiones* 10.3.3 (‘quid a me quaerunt audire qui sim, qui nolunt a te audire qui sint?’); *Contra academicos* 2.7.16 (‘audisti qui sint academici tui?’). The only use of *quid sint* in this sense is at *Enarrationes in psalmos* 132.3, where the Circumcellions are being asked explicitly not for their collective name, but about what they do: ‘Sed non, inquit, vocantur circelliones. Forte corrupto sono nominis eos appellamus. Dicturi sumus vobis integrum nomen ipsorum? Forte circumcelliones vocantur, non circelliones. Plane si hoc vocantur, exponant quid sint. Nam circumcelliones dicti sunt, quia circum cellas vagantur: solent enim ire hac, illac, nusquam habentes sedes; et facere quae nostis, et quae illi norunt, velint, nolint’. See also *De haeresibus* 87 (quoted below, at note 34) for the phrase ‘omnes hoc fuerunt’, where adherence to a particular heresy is at stake.

¹⁷ Although the diphthong *ae* was already in this period increasingly written simply as *e*, as it is in all the manuscripts of the passage under consideration, there is none the less reason to think that Augustine would originally have written *ae*, as in Divjak’s text. Late antique grammarians fought against the spelling of *ae* as *e*; see: Seelmann, 1885: 224–6. The evidence of MS St Petersburg, Q. v. I.3, written in North Africa in Saint Augustine’s lifetime, suggests he might have used either spelling. But he would surely have considered *ae* to be correct, and used it in a passage, like this one, where he was specifically considering the spelling of words.

¹⁸ On the one occasion on which Augustine uses a phrase similar to ‘corrupta una littera’ to describe a change of more than one letter, he seems to be thinking of the original Greek text, where the change is only one letter: ‘secundum Matthaeum, Mathan est avus Ioseph; secundum

subtraction of that letter rather than its 'corruption'.¹⁹ And finally, this 'letter' is not very important: what seems a carefully contrived punch-line falls rather flat when the two words turn out to be so much alike.

It should by now be clear that there are significant reasons for suspicion about not only the historical but also the textual reliability of the claim that the rustics called themselves Canaanites. At this point we need to go back to the manuscripts to see whether Augustine actually might have written something that made more sense; what we will find is that he very likely wrote something rather different.

'THE ELEGANCE OF THE EXPOUNDER'

The published texts of the *inchoata expositio* are inadequate, including the modern edition of reference, that of Johannes Divjak in volume 84 of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (CSEL) (1971). Divjak collated only fifteen manuscripts of the 24 known to exist,²⁰ and did not establish a stemma of the manuscripts, alleging extensive contamination (xxxi). Furthermore, his reports of manuscript readings regrettably are not always reliable.

A new critical edition of the *inchoata expositio* has been completed as part of Daniel Hadas's doctoral research, involving the collation of 22 of the manuscripts, as well as the four independent editions prior to CSEL.²¹ This work has led to the construction of a stemma (Fig. 1) that delineates two main manuscript families (Λ and Ξ), in addition to one outlier manuscript (B) which does not fit comfortably into either family, but appears to be a collation of one or more manuscripts from both, switching allegiance between them and given to emending by conjecture.²²

Lucam vero, non Mathan, sed Mathath. Quod si quisquam putat esse tantum similitudinem nominis, ut ab scriptoribus in una littera erratum sit, ut fieret tam parva et pene nulla diversitas; quid de istorum patribus dicturus est?' (*Quaestiones in Deuteronomium* 46.2).

¹⁹ Examination of his c. 1,700 uses of forms in *corrump** and *corrup** reveals that (with one possible exception at *De civitate Dei* 3.20) Augustine never uses *corrumpere* and its derivatives to mean 'destroy' or 'eliminate' rather than 'change' or 'substitute'; the relevant passages in relation to the analysis of words are *De musica* 5.24; *Enarrationes in psalmos* 132.3; *Ars breviata* (perhaps Augustinian) 2.6.

²⁰ A full list of manuscripts, with sigla (Divjak's where he also collated the manuscript) is provided in Appendix 1.

²¹ See Appendix 1 for further details. *Prag.* was not collated, because it shares an eclectic group of texts with *P*, and is almost certainly its direct descendant, while *Ott.* was not collated, as it is known to be a copy of *V₁*. Collation also showed *L₂* to be a copy of *L₁*, and *G* to be a copy or at least direct descendant of *H*, so their readings will be left out of the edition (and, where relevant, the argument of this article). The pre-CSEL Divjak editions all go back to a text closely related to *B*'s, and so have no value as witnesses here. Divjak himself attributed great value to *B*'s text (1971: xxxi).

²² A detailed justification of this stemma will appear in Hadas's doctoral thesis. Although the tradition is contaminated (most notably within Λ and between κ and γ), as is to be expected in a text of which there were once surely scores of manuscripts, the contamination is not extensive enough to vitiate the validity of the stemma.

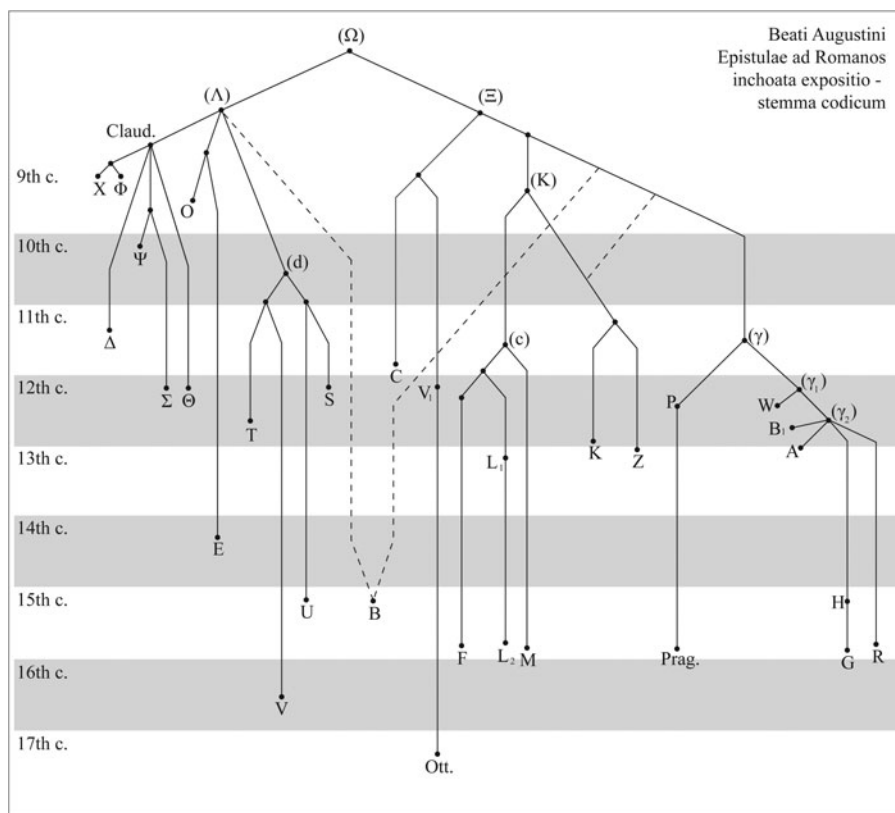


Fig. 1. Augustine, *Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*. Stemma of manuscripts. (Kindly drawn by Maxine Anastasi.)

Appendix 2 summarizes the most relevant readings from the sentence at issue in the eighteen manuscripts that include chapter 13 and are not direct copies of others extant; in several cases these readings supersede those of Divjak.²³ It will be apparent immediately that the reading *sint* is found only in *B* and in two manuscripts in the Λ family (*T* and *V*) that have a common ancestor.²⁴ And while their place in the stemma is enough to establish that *TVB* are unlikely to preserve from the archetype a true reading that is not found elsewhere, the character of these manuscripts' text makes their reading all the more suspect. The text of *TV*'s immediate ancestor is the work of an ingenious scribe, who corrects errors (possibly sometimes by collation) in all the other Λ manuscripts,

²³ Responsibility for these readings is shared between Hadas (all manuscripts discussed in this article), Quinn (*OSUTVKL₁FPBRB₁*) and McLynn (*OTKPBRB₁*). Divjak's *V₁* (Vat. Lat. 4918), its copy *Ott.*, and Divjak's *C* are not relevant for our purposes here, because they contain only 22.2–end. The unpublished commentary of Claudius of Turin, which has been used for the forthcoming edition, likewise does not excerpt our passage.

²⁴ Divjak's apparatus misreads *sint* for *sit* in *Z* and *E*.

and some errors, real or imagined,²⁵ in the whole tradition. As for *B*, however, where Λ and Ξ both have plausible texts, its allegiance is shared quite evenly between them. So, at first sight, it seems it could be a witness to the archetype independent of $\Lambda\Xi$. But against this, it has few convincing readings of its own not found in one of the two families, and sometimes agrees in error with Λ or Ξ . Worse still, *B* is a product of the Brethren of the Common Life, who were known for their energetic collation of patristic manuscripts to create new and improved texts — effectively pre-modern editions.²⁶ In short, there is every probability that *quid sint* in *TVB* is nothing but the result of two independent conjectures.²⁷

Why conjecture *sint* for *sit*? This seems to be due to the scribes' reading of *chanani* as a Latin plural rather than a Punic singular, and so requiring a plural verb (and as referring to the peasants themselves). This correction would have been encouraged by the multiple plurals of *interrogati rustici nostri* immediately beforehand, and made even easier by the fact that the immediately preceding phrase *erat enim Chananaea* could also be read as a claim about ethnicity (in this case of the woman).²⁸ Then it appears that the first (1506) modern edition of the text took the *sint* reading from a text of the type represented by *B*, and it has survived simply by force of tradition. The conclusion that must emerge from this is that in the archetype the peasants were asked not 'what they are', *quid sint*, but 'what it is', *quid sit*.

The fact that the archetype has *sit* does not, of course, mean that it is what Augustine originally wrote, and it may be that these later corrections are in fact correct. Our fundamental goal in this article is simply to draw attention to the textual unreliability of a frequently cited passage. There are plausible arguments for both of the readings transmitted by our manuscripts, as well as reasonable objections, to the extent that the authors of this article continue to debate which is the more likely.

On the one hand, the archetype's reading — *quid sit*, 'what it is' — makes better sense of the sentence than the later correction to *quid sint*, where what seems to be a Punic singular adjective follows a plural Latin verb. If 'what it is' was indeed the original wording, however, then what is 'it'? The question must refer back (through *unde*) to a noun in the previous sentence, so to either the

²⁵ *TV* particularly tends to eliminate anacoloutha.

²⁶ On this, see the testimony of the contemporary historian Jan Busch (1399–c. 1479) in his *Liber de origine modernae devotionis* (1464; ed. Grube, 1886: 312–13).

²⁷ Compare the text of *TVB* at 11.2. Here all the other manuscripts have an impossible text ('trinitas pariterque incommutabilis in ista saluatione cogonscitur'), which *TV* and *B* have fixed in separate ways: 'incommutabilis] inseparabilis pariterque incommutabilis *TV*, incommutabilis unitas *B*' (*B*'s text, which is found in all the printed editions, is already in the *Glossa ordinaria* (*Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria: Facsimile reprint of the Editio princeps of Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81, 1992, Turnhout, vol. 4, p. 274*) and in Peter Lombard (*Patrologia Latina* 191, 1316 C–D)).

²⁸ The reading *erant enim Chanan(a)ei* of *KZγ* makes no sense in context, and therefore seems to be simply an error. We thank Stephen Heyworth for the point about the multiple preceding plurals.

Chananaea herself or her language (*lingua*). Since *chanani* appears to render a Punic masculine singular adjectival (*nisba*) form, lacking the feminine suffix /-īt/,²⁹ strictly speaking it could neither refer to the woman nor be a feminine adjective or noun for a language — and although we do not know what Phoenician-speakers called their language(s), comparative evidence might suggest that the word was feminine.³⁰ However, we could read the word as reproducing a *spoken* feminine form compatible with what we know of late Punic phonology: the spelling of Latino-Punic inscriptions, Latin transcriptions of Punic names and even some neo-Punic inscriptions show that the final plosive /t/ of a word was often elided in the North African pronunciation of Late Punic (Kerr, 2010: 125).³¹ Such inscriptions also make it clear that gutturals were no longer a phonetic reality (Kerr, 2010: 26–38), and that the pronunciation of the Punic letter K as /ch/ was the norm (Kerr, 2010: 111–17; cf. 228), and so it seems that a language name or a feminine adjective based on the noun KN'N would in all likelihood have become a form pronounced /ch(a)nanī/.

If the reading of the archetype is correct, then, the question posed to the rustics, and the preceding phrase *erat enim Chananaea*, could in theory refer either to the Canaanite woman or to the language she shares with them. If, however, it refers to the woman, then in addition to the problems of seeing a reference to ethnic identity here that we have discussed above, the peasants could know of the woman only through the gospel story that (at least in the case of Matthew's gospel) already describes her as 'Canaanite'. A question about language also makes the best sense in the context of the chapter as a whole, which is after all about language. The crucial passage would then read (with a slight change in punctuation to make the argument clearer) 'For in the woman's language *tria* is said as *salus*. For it was Canaanite, for which reason our rustics, when asked what it is, reply in Phoenician 'Chanani'.'³² On this reading, the peasants most likely are being asked what their own language is,

²⁹ The sole, late manuscript that supports a reading here ending in anything other than *-i* is *U*, which gives *chaemam* (and in second position *chanam*); *ni* is of course very easily mistaken in minuscule for *m*. (It is also possible that *V* too gives an ending in *-m* in the first but not the second position: it is extremely hard to tell the difference between *ni* and *m* in *V*'s hand.)

³⁰ Examples include in post-biblical Hebrew עברית /ivrit/ (in Syriac ܥܒܪܝܬ) for 'Hebrew'; in Syriac ܝܘܢܐܢܐܝܬ (/yawnā'it/) for 'Greek' and ܐܪܡܝܐܝܬ (/tayyāyā'it/) for 'Arabic'; and even Arabic العربية (/al-'arabīya/ <*/al-'arabīt/). Note that in Isaiah 19.18 שִׁפְתֵי כְנַעַן, the 'language of Canaan', refers to Hebrew (see Wildberger, 1997: *ad loc.*).

³¹ A familiar example is the way in which the Punic name 'HMLKT is rendered in Latin as (H)imilc(h)o, but Kerr has listed various examples of the elision of the feminine singular ending in Latin transcriptions of Punic (cf. *PPG*³, p. 150 §229); it is not entirely clear whether this happened regularly in the case of the feminine *nisba* form. It should be noted that most Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions continue to use the traditional spelling (*PPG*³, p. 139 ¶204b); this is of course as unhelpful a guide to contemporary pronunciation as the spelling of words such as 'thought' in English.

³² We take the opportunity here to correct Divjak's *respondentes*, attested only in *B*, to *respondent*, the reading of *OSEUKc*, and *R* (the latter in a correction to the text that originally omitted the word entirely, as do *Z* and the rest of *γ*).

not the woman's language: the speaker has just explained that her language is called 'Canaanite'; they now confirm the same of their own.

On the other hand, *quid sint* was hardly a foolish conjecture. If, for example, we were to take it that the peasants are being asked not what they call their own language, but what they call the language that the Bible calls Canaanite, then even if we were to accept they could be asked and could answer such a question, that they called it *Chanani* would hardly help the argument of the chapter. Had Augustine wished to avoid this possible misunderstanding and refocus the discussion more clearly on the peasants' language, he could have written *quid sit lingua eorum*. Indeed, *quid sit lingua eorum* could solve such problems with the *sit* reading by conjecture — but *lingua eorum* was perhaps not very likely to fall out in transmission. A more promising conjecture, giving the same overall sense, would be *interrogati rustici nostri quid sit <punica lingua> punice respondent* ... Here *punica lingua* could have been omitted either by haplography, or because it was understood as a gloss on *punice*.

Or *quid sint* may simply be right. The question that Augustine, or Valerius, wishes to address is: what language was spoken by a women identified in the Bible as *Chananaea*? The answer he both assumes and wishes to prove is *lingua punica*, the language spoken by the peasants. If the peasants too called themselves *Chananaei*, this could indeed have bolstered the argument: we have already seen that Augustine uses *punicus* essentially to designate a language group, and that he may have thought 'Canaanite' could serve the same function in Phoenician. Nor is the narrator trying to make a watertight argument. He merely wishes to adduce evidence, and perhaps the fact that both the Biblical woman and the peasants called themselves by the same name could suffice for this. This is surely why *sint* has not troubled editors of Augustine so far. But it would be unwise to argue that either reading *must* be correct.

'REPLYING IN PHOENICIAN ...'

Such are the complexities raised by the first part of the sentence. What follows, moreover, presents its own problems: '... corrupta scilicet, sicut in talibus solet, una littera, quid aliud respondent quam: chananaei?' ('with one letter corrupted of course, as is usual in such cases, what else do they reply but 'chananaei'?'). What point is being made here about the difference between the two words for Canaanite?

The difficulties start with the fact that it is not even clear what language the second word of the pair is supposed to be in. The most obvious interpretation is that the speaker is making the point that the Punic word for Canaanite (the first of the pair) is very similar to the Latin word (the second), especially since the rest of the passage is about the similarity of words in the 'Phoenician' and 'Roman' languages. In other cases where Augustine introduces a Punic word he glosses it in Latin, and in one sermon (delivered admittedly on the coast, where there would have been more Latin speakers) he specifically states that he does

not expect all his audience to know Phoenician.³³ On the other hand, a claim that Punic and Latin words were ‘usually’ only a letter different seems odd, as does the idea that a difference between these two languages would count as a ‘corruption’.³⁴ If that is, however, the language pair being contrasted in the passage, and we accept the *quid sit* reading, this word is already corrupt in the archetype: none of the manuscripts preserve anything like the *chanan(a)ea* that would seem to be required in Latin to describe either the woman or her language, and so as it stands a Punic singular is being glossed by a Latin plural. The *quid sint* reading could, however, leave us with the opposite problem, since in Punic *chanani*, as a singular adjective, could not be a reply to a question put in the plural: in this case it is *chanani* rather than *chananaei* that would be corrupt in the archetype.

The alternative is that both versions of the word are in the same language, in which case the point would be about change over time and perhaps space rather than between languages, that is from a ‘standard’ word for Canaanite to the one now used locally — one that is apparently different enough to require spelling out. This interpretation also presents problems, not least (as already noted) the close similarity between the two words in the manuscripts that record any difference at all. In particular, two Punic singulars would fit uneasily with the fact that Augustine never elsewhere uses Punic without glossing it.

Whatever the language(s) involved, Augustine says that the difference between the words is ‘a letter’ (possibly, as noted above, a diphthong). Is there a plausible pair that meets this criterion? Here it must be admitted that the manuscripts do not supply an obvious answer: there are in fact a great variety of versions and pairs of words given in the various families and sub-families, and four manuscripts from both sides of the stemma (OEKM) make the completely nonsensical claim that the first of the two words is one letter corrupted from a second identical word. In fact, the distinction in the archetype, let alone in what Augustine actually wrote, may well be unrecoverable. However, we shall briefly present and evaluate the differences preserved by the available manuscripts that might meet a broad sense of the ‘one letter’ criterion, if only to eliminate them from ongoing investigation; they are offered here as illustrative possibilities, no more, and none of them are very satisfactory.

³³ *Sermo* 167.4: ‘proverbium notum est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punice non omnes nostis’.

³⁴ *De haeresibus* 87 is relevant here: ‘Est quaedam haeresis rusticana in campo nostro, id est Hipponiensi, vel potius fuit; paulatim enim diminuta in una exigua villa remanserat, in qua quidem paucissimi, sed omnes hoc fuerunt. Qui omnes modo correcti et Catholici facti sunt, nec aliquis illius supersedit erroris. ABELOIM vocabantur, Punica declinatione nominis. Hos nonnulli dicunt ex filio Adae fuisse nominatos qui est vocatus Abel, unde ABELIANOS vel ABELOITAS eos possumus dicere’. This passage suggests that Augustine didn’t think of the Punic versions of Latin words as ‘corrupt’, but sensibly distinguished between the languages, and between what this group of people are called in Punic and what ‘we can say’ [that is, in Latin]; it also demonstrates that he knew that the correct plural form for the gentilic was in –IM.

One possibility is a change at the end of the word from *-i* to *-ei* (*Z*) or even *-ei* to *-i* (as found in *B*), but the problem here is that the difference is so small it is hard to see why Valerius or Augustine would make so much of it. Another candidate preserved in the $\Xi\gamma$ tradition, where the words are consistently rendered *c(h)anai* and *c(h)anei*, presents the same difficulty, and is also unsatisfactory on at least one other ground: these short words are a long way from any possible Latin or Phoenician word for Canaanite, which does seem to be required here.

A third option is that Augustine is pointing to a change from *c-* to *ch-* at the beginning of the word, reflecting the readings of two pairs of manuscripts with common ancestors within the Ξ family: *AR* and *FL*₁.³⁵ If we take both words in the pair as Punic rather than Latin, the claim could be that a consonant originally pronounced /k/ is aspirated in the pronunciation of the peasants. However, we have very little idea how this word would have been pronounced 'originally' in Phoenician, assuming it is not merely a biblical borrowing — and the initial consonant of the word for 'Canaanite' already appears as aspirated in the Septuagint, suggesting that the consonant was aspirated at least in Hebrew by at least the Hellenistic period. And again, it seems unlikely that the difference in sound between the unaspirated and aspirated pronunciation of the letter would have been enough for the denouement to come as much of a surprise to Valerius's audience. Add to this the variation between *c* and *ch* at the beginning and end of many words in medieval Latin orthography (even such common words as *C(h)ristus* and *c(h)aritas*), and the evidence from the manuscripts on this matter seems highly unreliable.

One final possibility emerges from the full survey rather than any individual manuscript, a more dramatic corruption of a word than the mere aspiration of a letter or change of a vowel. The clear implication of *STUV* (one of two major branches of the Λ family) is that /n/ has been corrupted into /m/, so that a word something like *chanani* is pronounced locally something like *chamani*. This may be a sufficient difference to make sense of a gloss in the same language, and it is one that is unlikely to be a scribal emendation — although an intervocalic *n* > *m* sound-shift is otherwise unattested.³⁶

'THE CRUMBS WHICH FALL ...'

It should be clear now that we are dealing with a situation familiar to all students of the ancient world. An intelligent and erudite member of the élite is displaying his intelligence and erudition for those capable of appreciating these qualities, by deploying unexpected material and treating it in unexpected ways. The Punic

³⁵ It may be worth noting an odd correction in *O*: the copyist originally wrote *chanani* and *canani*, before (in what looks like the same hand) correcting the second word to *chanani*.

³⁶ One possible explanation would be that the term was understood in late antique North Africa — or by a later copyist — as a reference to Canaan's father Cham, named in biblical genealogies that probably date to the late Persian period.

words that signify so much to modern historians were of secondary importance at most to an author whose primary concern was an exhibition of exegetical expertise, and they cannot be taken as straightforward historical evidence. Still less interested in the anthropology of the Algerian countryside were the scribes to whom we owe such direct knowledge of this material as is available to us, and their casual treatment of the text at this point has had awkward consequences for more scrupulous historians, who have taken their handiwork on trust.

On the other hand, the close reading to which we have subjected this passage, if not definitive, does leave us on more solid ground than hitherto. The suggestion that it was not the peasants who were being labelled ‘Canaanite’ here, but their language, must remain provisional; more important is that the variety of possibilities we have proposed are all plausible in a late antique cultural context, where a scholarly churchman strains every muscle to transmute local conversational banalities into theological gold.³⁷ There is no reason to doubt that the words Augustine reports here could have been spoken, but as historians we are required to follow them where they lead, that is into the imaginative world being created by learned divines, and not that inhabited by their unlettered charges. Augustine is not providing, or attempting to provide, a reliable report on what the rustic population of his region called itself collectively, if anything, and even if he were, it does not seem to have survived intact the accidents of transmission.

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EH = Berthier, A. and Charlier, R. (1955) *Le sanctuaire punique d’El-Hofra à Constantine*. Paris, Arts et Métiers Graphiques.

³⁷ Cf. the examples discussed by Santiago Fernández Ardanaz (1991).

- IAM 1 = Galand, L., Février, J. and Vajda, G. (1966) *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*. Volume 1. Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- KAI = Donner, H. and Röllig, W. (1962–4) *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- PPG³ = Friedrich, J., Röllig, W. and Amadasi, M.G. (1999) *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (third edition). Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- RIL = Chabot, J.-B. (1940–1) *Recueil des inscriptions libyques*. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.
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APPENDIX 1. FULL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

Shaded manuscripts are those collated by Divjak. Where indications of dating and provenance differ from those in library catalogues, relevant bibliography is given in the notes.
Key: s. = century; ^{1/4} = first quarter; ^{3/4} = third quarter; ^{4/4} = fourth quarter.

A FAMILY

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
	Oxford, Bodleian, Laud misc. 134	825–42; ³⁸	Niederaltaich, Bavaria ³⁹
	Florence, Laurenziana, San Marco 637	s. 12 ⁴⁰	North-central Italy ⁴¹
	Erlangen, University Library 77	1310	Heilsbronn, Bavaria
	Vatican, Urbino Latinus 69	s. 15	Florence?

³⁸ Bischoff, 2004: no. 3843.
³⁹ Bischoff, 2004: no. 3843.
⁴⁰ Ullman and Stadter, 1972: 68, 154; Tanganelli and Manfredi, 2001: 159–61; Manfredi, 2003.
⁴¹ Manfredi, 2003: 52.

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
T	Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 40 ^{II}	Between 1115 and 1153 ⁴²	Clairvaux (Cistercians)
V	Vatican, Vat. Lat. 445	c. 1440	Belonged to Pope Nicholas V, possibly written for him at Council of Florence (1431–45) ⁴³

Claudius of Turin

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
Φ	Paris, BnF Latinus 12,289	s. 9	Fleury (Benedictines)
X	Paris, BnF Latinus 2393	s. 9	Auxerre? ⁴⁴ Clermont-Ferrand? ⁴⁵
Δ	Monte Cassino, Archivio 48	1022–35 ⁴⁶	Monte Cassino
Ψ	Paris, BnF Latinus 2392	s. 10	Clermont-Ferrand? ⁴⁷
Σ	Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 221	s. 12	Clairvaux
Θ	Vatican, Reginensis Latinus 98	s. 12	France? ⁴⁸

Ξ FAMILY

Sub-family κ

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
K	Cologne, Dombibliothek 77	s. 12 ^{3/4}	Germany ⁴⁹
Z	Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek 296	s. 12 ^{4/4}	Zwettl

⁴² Vernet and Genest, 1979: 14–15.

⁴³ For both date and provenance, see: Manfredi, 1994; 2003: 56, 59–60. The scribe, Petrus Beeckhusen, is clearly a northerner, and may well have been in Florence for the Council.

⁴⁴ Ferrari, 1973: 296.

⁴⁵ Heil, 1998: 232.

⁴⁶ These are the dates of the abbacy of Theobald, under whom the manuscript was copied. Cf. *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* 2.53 (Hoffman, 1980).

⁴⁷ Heil, 1998: 232.

⁴⁸ Suggested by Mirella Ferrari (1973: 297). Johannes Heil (1998: 232) proposed Fleury.

⁴⁹ We have consulted the online catalogue: <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/> (last consulted 21.07.2014).

c (within κ)

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
L₁	Florence, Laurenziana, plut. XVI dext VII	s. 13	From Santa Croce, Florence, but probably written elsewhere ⁵⁰
L₂	Florence, Laurenziana, plut. XII, XXVIII	between 1472 and 1492 ⁵¹	Florence, written for Lorenzo de' Medici ⁵²
F	Florence, Laurenziana, Mediceus Faesulanus VIII	1463	Vespasiano da Bisticci had the manuscript copied for the abbey of Fiesole, on the orders of Cosimo de' Medici ⁵³
M	Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana 1801 (Z 68)	1471	Italy; copied for Cardinal Bessarion

Sub-family γ

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
P	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, theol. et phil. 2° 207	s. 12 ^{1/4}	Zwiefalten, Baden-Württemberg ⁵⁴
Prag.	Prague, St Vitus Capitulary Library, A.LXXIII.2	1471	Unknown
W	Fulda, Hochschule und Landesbibliothek Aa23	s. 12 ^{1/4} ⁵⁵	Weingarten, Baden-Württemberg
B₁	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II 1072 (= VdG 1115)	s. 12	Given to Cistercians of Aulne Abbey in Hainaut by Benedict, Deacon of St John's, Liège, <i>obit</i> after 1189 ⁵⁶
A	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. et philosoph. lat. fol. 348	s. 12 ^{4/5} ⁵⁷	Liesborn, Nordrhein-Westfalen
R	Utrecht, University Library 68	1463	Saint Mary and the Twelve Apostles, Utrecht
H	Zwolle, Gemeentearchief GAZ 19	s. 15	Zwolle?
G	Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, Ba3	1472	Böddeken, Nordrhein-Westfalen ⁵⁸

⁵⁰ For the formation of the Santa Croce library, see: Davis, 1963: 409–10.

⁵¹ The manuscript's illuminator, Attavante, became active in 1472 (Levi d'Ancona, 1962: 254–5). Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1492.

⁵² Gallori, 2001.

⁵³ For date and provenance, see: De la Mare, 1985: 442, 497, 506, 555.

⁵⁴ For date and provenance, see: von Borries-Schulten, 1987: n. 22.

⁵⁵ Jakobi-Mirwald and Köllner, 1993: 65–6.

⁵⁶ As per the text on 1r. For Benedict, see: Vercauteren, 1967.

⁵⁷ Fingernagel, 1991: no. 38.

⁵⁸ The best information on this library's manuscripts, including G, is to be found on its website: <http://www.eab-paderborn.org/index.php/sammlungen/handschriften> (last consulted 21.07.2014).

Extract: 22(2) – end

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
C	Monte Cassino, Archivio 173 L	1058–86 ⁵⁹	Monte Cassino
V₁	Vatican, Vat. Lat. 4918	s. 12	Italy? ⁶⁰
Ott.	Vatican, Ottobonianus lat. 945	1619–20	Copied for Pietro d'Altamps, Duke of Gallese ⁶¹

MIXED MANUSCRIPT

	Classmark	Date	Provenance
B	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 48 (= VdG 1058)	s. 15	Corsendonk, province of Antwerp

Printed editions

J. Amerbach (ed.), *Tertia pars librorum divi Aurelii Augustini quos edidit presbyter ordinatus* (Basle, 1506), [o4v]-p1r.⁶²

D. Erasmus (ed.), *Quartus tomus operum divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi complectens reliqua τῶν διδασκτικῶν* (Basle, 1528).⁶³

Tomus IIII operum Divi Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi complectens reliqua τῶν διδασκτικῶν per Theologos Lovanienses ab innumeris mendis purgatus (Antwerp, 1571), 360–6.⁶⁴

Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus tertius ... opera et studio monachorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti e congregatione Sancti Mauri pars secunda (Paris, 1680), cols 925–42.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ That is during the abbacy of Desiderius (blessed Victor III), during which the manuscript was written, according to Hartmut Hoffman (1980: 444).

⁶⁰ There is no printed catalogue describing this manuscript. For the twelfth-century dating, cf.: Barlow, 1950: 209–10; Meersseman, 1973: 49; Lowe and Brown, 1980: 149. An Italian provenance is suggested by the eleventh-century Beneventan script in the flyleaves and in the palimpsested folios 109–30. Cf. Lowe and Brown, 1980: 149; Lowe, 1962: 238; Brown, 1978: 288.

⁶¹ Mercati, 1938: 109–10.

⁶² Collated in British Library copy, classmark C 109.i.1, where it is bound with the *Prima pars* and *Secunda pars*. No precise indication of manuscript sources.

⁶³ Collated in the 1541 Basle reprint, where the text is at cols 1173–90. No precise indication of manuscript sources.

⁶⁴ The ‘Louvain edition’. As per the preface of vol. 1, the editor of vol. 4 was ‘Embertyus Everaerds Arendoncanus [*i.e.* from Arendonk], pastor ecclesiae Divi Jacobi’, on whom, see: Foppens, 1739: 259. No precise indication of manuscript sources for our text, except (vol. 4, p. 542) variants from a manuscript from Cambron Abbey (presumably variants from this manuscript were also incorporated into the main text).

⁶⁵ Reprinted in *Patrologia Latina* 35, 2087–106. The Maurists (col. 984) indicate their sources as the previous editions and a manuscript in the Vatican, which is in fact V (Divjak, 1971: xxxii).

APPENDIX 2. RELEVANT READINGS

MS	They are asked	They say ...	They mean ...
...			
Λ			
O	quid sit	chanani	chanani (corrected from canani)
E	quid sit	chanani	chanani
Λδ			
S	quid sit	chaemani	chanani
T	quid sint	chemani	chananei
U	quid sit	chaemam	chanam
V	quid sint	chemani	cananei
Ξ γ			
P	quid sit	canei	canai
Ξ γ 1			
W	quid sit	canei	canai
Ξ γ 2			
B ₁	quid sit	chanei	chanai
A	quid sit	chanei	canai
R	quid sit	chanei	canai
H	quid sit	chanei	chanai
Ξ κ			
K	quid sit	canani	canani
Z	quid sit	cananei	canani
Ξ κ c			
L ₁	quid sit	chanani	canani
F	quid sit	chanani	canani
M	quid sit	chanani	chanani
B	quid sint	chanani	chananei